for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 262

10

Conclusion

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertiliser, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilisation and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families. 182

Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. [463] Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for [887] the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. [857] Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing.

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type *sake* (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan *sake* (*awamori*)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the *ika* lamp (fishing villages only)

Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers
[437] pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged
¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120
to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
[366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Minatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by
443 bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
499 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies,
cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[857] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up
to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and
cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages.
These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (*pan*) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and
candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make
cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally
women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or
cloth. In Minatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes
through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent
medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (*hykujō*), also operated privately, are a different
262 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under
the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
511 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such
as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made
to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its
age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy
[442] work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at
reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

854 wherever the mother goes. The age at which this begins varies, some saying 20 days, others two months. But on the average, it probably is about one month.

[171] [482] This custom, known as *ombu* in Japanese, is identical with the practice in rural Japan. The child is strapped on by crossing the sash in front of the mother, crisscrossing it above the baby's buttocks, and then bringing the binding around the mother's waist where the sash is securely tied in front. In the summer, the child may only wear a diaper-like garment. The child is carried on the back until he begins to walk. But there is often a long transition period, and the child is carried at times long after he has learned to walk, perhaps until he is 3 years of age. I have seen boys of 4 still being carried on the mother's back.

At one time or another, the infant is carried by every member of the family physically able to do so, the child accommodating itself effortlessly to the activities of his elder. Its longest continual contact is with the mother. A mother does most of her chores with the child on her back. The child is with her when she is scrubbing the plank floors on her knees, carrying in firewood, building a fire, cooking, when she is turning the quern to make bean curd, shopping, or doing the laundry. If occasion requires, she unstraps the child, changes the diaper-like cloth, for diapers are unusual, and allows it to sleep a while on the thick comforter.

[857] When school is out, the mother may get a rest. The baby is taken over by the eldest girl. In communities where there are many girls, few young boys are seen carrying their young brothers or sisters, although carrying by boys is very common in the absence of elder sisters. Sometimes older children begin so young that they look small under the load of a fat or plump baby. In the fishing village, a father might walk around in the evening either with the child strapped on his back, or if the child is big enough, he puts his arms around the father's neck and his legs around the father's waist. Occasionally in the agricultural villages, a father carries a small child around in his work basket. The basket is tied to the end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. Children enjoy this.

[857] Children who carry the babies around do not allow this to interfere with their activities. They play games, such as tag, hide and seek, and a kind of hop scotch. They walk surefootedly along the sharp, and often dangerous, coral rocks of the seashore, along narrow hill or mountain paths, wherever inclination leads them.

The ability of the infant child to sleep under these circumstances is remarkable. Once the child is strapped on the back, he is given little further attention. He seldom cries unless in discomfort. Most often he goes to sleep. His head in sleep frequently falls at right angles with the shoulders, and he sleeps like this while his mother

155 114 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given. Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the mother, his older sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 [842] Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play seems most successful when there are many children of the same age in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 262 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water. Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year. Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

197 pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the
191 other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

524 Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch.
[526] After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

● 857
513 Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no older relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, sprawled out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

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[12] No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 291 302 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory. Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobes. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 883 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they[15] straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organised athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (*undōkai*) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organised athletic training is a [177] Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, *dōnen* or *dōsei*, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

[15] As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands 857
are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on 883
their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well,
pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole [482]
resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening
meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run
errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night
study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which
the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a
large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help
around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female [462]
division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as
there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the
agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry
water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village,
they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the
older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in
the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea,
but as a rule, this does not begin until later.

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable 873
change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or
15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, 856
and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is
allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often
in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the 302
hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the
hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top,
so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length.

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high 463
school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional
occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching,
clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy
who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or
adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing
period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose
families lack land.

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might 885
be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up 868
for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties
in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young
daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also
may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are

ceremony the set of three cups (*sakazuki*) was used. The go-between, 585
a man and a close friend of the groom, poured *sake* into the top cup. 184
The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to
the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups.

In this ceremony, after the *san-san-kudo*, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was
also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with [576]
the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal
pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which [537]
the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He
asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to
teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended
by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the
sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the
same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, [301]
it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part
of the ceremony.

A custom followed in Minatogawa illustrates a variation in the
preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (*hanamuko*)
and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are
given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to
his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is
not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried [857]
long lanterns (*chōchin*) with candles to light the way for the bride,
as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, [416]
which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them
to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been
abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in [177]
another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed
participating because they were given small amounts of money and food.

In the Minatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Minatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about ¥5-6000
to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate [431]
circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from ¥20-40.
The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the
heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to
her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles.

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the
● [857] two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the
children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot
surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat
sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children
are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach
to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst
depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy
rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata,
the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road
where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep
on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this
path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves
as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers
several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the
houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes
pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete,
near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed,
girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any
child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany
the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend
to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the
course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and
water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect.
On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand
is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back
to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

Children do
415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[776] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan
government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here
women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean
paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[illegible] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

◆ ◆ ◆

Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a time-
piece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The 805
noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for 512
the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the [264]
time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. School-
children do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning
and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For
most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the ap-
proximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the
bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn 512
during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get [887]
up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. [252]
Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning
sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake.
The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the [514]
edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of
the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it
is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the
sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most [513]
people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick [515]
turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net
falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and [857]
young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to
be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By [462]
about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people
leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren
are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to [855]
the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, [872]
waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them
after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until
evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is 512
prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, 461
but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables,
and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a
few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along,
are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice
paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact be-
tween children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the [855]

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess beseeches
or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined
[793] by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends
long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some
prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set
the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which
[476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient
number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work,
which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole
paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the
young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is
needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an
event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren
can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is
threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind
one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to
a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman
holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the
[251] kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled
and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the
cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest
falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the
year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually
[231] fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones
cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry
paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil
must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of
the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of
a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

Only two

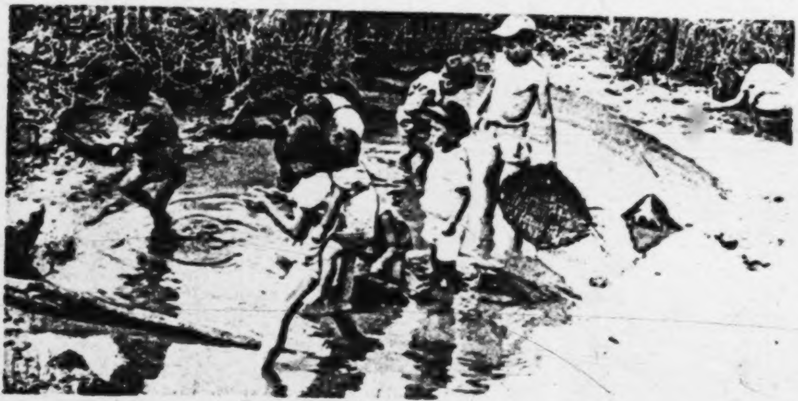
of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen 226
are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, [166]
leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled [438]
in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and [443]
peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing 226
boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able 443
women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat
is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten [262]
and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. 313
Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, [423]
except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property.
The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is [651]
levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced [185]
on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned
by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less de- [423]
pleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the vil- [685]
lagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, [857]
go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups.
To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by wood- [487]
cutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during
the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife [412]



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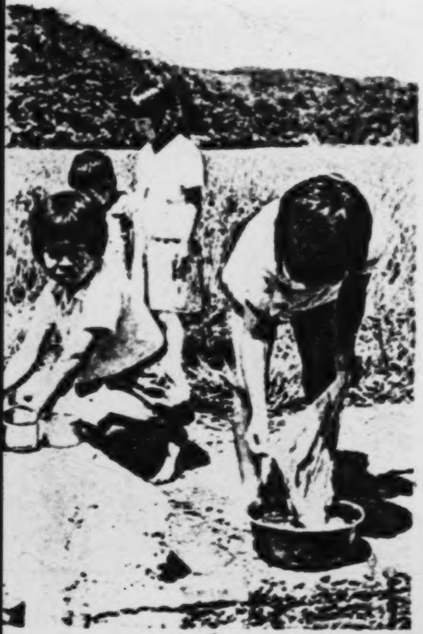
Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.



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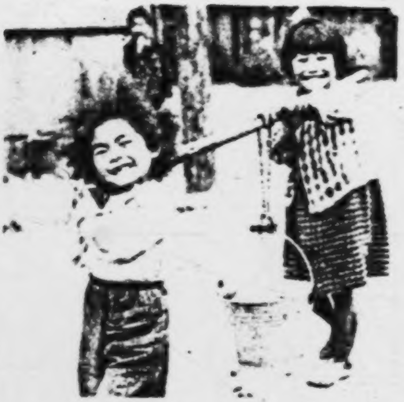

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

Boy harvesting.

[243]
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[p. 456-C]

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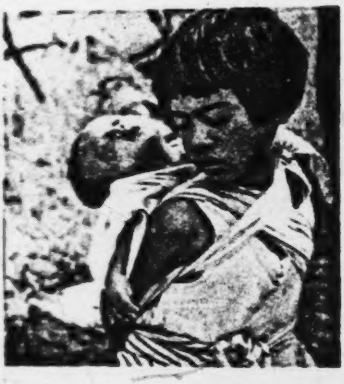

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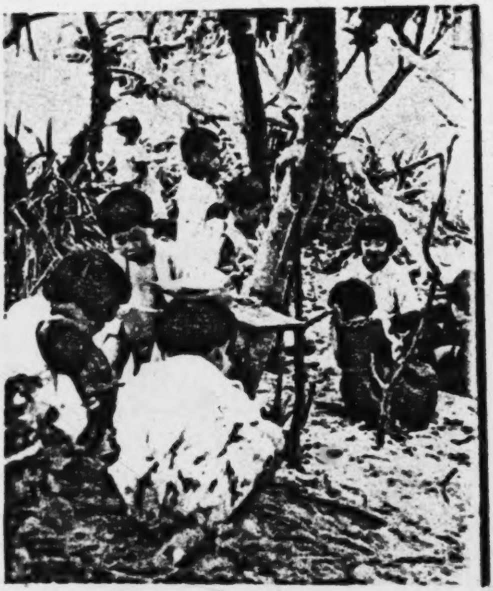

Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

● 857
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Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

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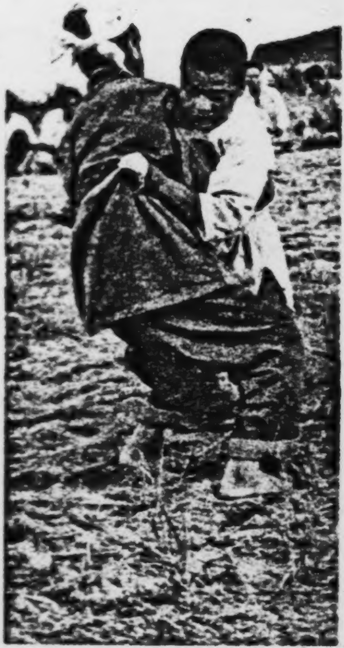

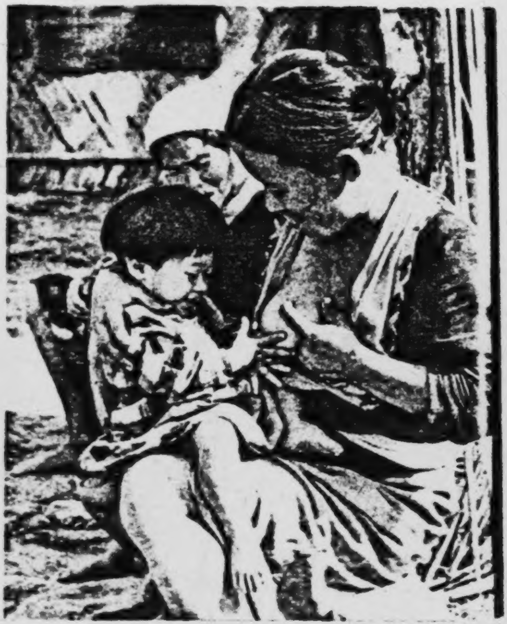

[p 456-D]

846 461 before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

854 853 594 [887] If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

512 854 [853] [887] Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

[264] After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. 512 854 887 ● 857 The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

854 857 594 An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

fields and away from the village, the young caretaker jiggles up and 854
down to soothe the baby on his back. As his cries become frantic, the 857 ●
caretaker's peers will pat him on his buttocks and try to placate him 594
by guiding his fingers to his mouth.

For the nuclear family with no other caretaker except the mother, the newborn proves to be a problem. One such mother complained that she could not do anything efficiently with a baby on her back. She was able to go to the fields to harvest potatoes but had to leave the laden basket until the afternoon to carry it home, for at that time the neighbor's child returned from school to look after the baby. In payment for baby-sitting services she had planned on buying the neighbor's child a dress for the next New Year.

In the nuclear family with school age children, the mother works around the house and in the nearby fields in the morning and rushes off to the mountains when her relief returns in the middle of the afternoon. Thus the infant which brought so much joy to the family and gave its mother respite from the rigorous routine for a short time becomes somewhat of a burden to all. Nevertheless, the baby continues to be indulged, pitied for his helplessness, and the object of affection.

It is important to note, briefly, the father's attitude and behavior
during this initial period. Although only females were born during this 846
study, interviews suggest that a male birth elicits a somewhat more 842
solicitous behavior on the part of the father toward both mother and infant than a female one. The father will discourage the mother's early resumption of work and may even feel encouraged to carry the male infant despite the fact that children are deemed "women's work." Ostensibly, however, he seems embarrassed and disinterested in the whole matter be it a male or female. Congratulating visitors find that after a few polite exchanges the father will retire to a corner in the house as attention focuses on mother and child. After sitting out what seems a proper length of time, he will mumble some excuse or other and leave the house to do some chore. The observer visiting the household on the occasion of the birth of a fourth daughter found gloom and disgust in the father's expression. A male visitor who sat trying to convince the father that daughters are quite useful, too, received only contemptuous stares. His wife sat dejectedly holding the infant loosely in her arms. In contrast, a visit of the same purpose to another household on the birth of a fourth daughter revealed similar but notably less intense reactions on the part of the father. Perhaps because of the existence of one male heir he felt less threatened.

There is a tenacious belief in Taira that the female determines the sex of the child. If the woman fails to produce a male heir, the man

846 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit,
for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor solicitation.

593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the
857 other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an
854 older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn
in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back, the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother approaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a
household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room
522 with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
857 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey
854 Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother,
winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the infant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes, indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away. At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister
for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a
857 little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school,
854 she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience.
This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck 593 muscles.

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her 857 ● back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were 854 scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" [594] She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby."

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful 853 operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The [751] area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to [262] supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and 862 more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 855

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financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!" 852

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl. 855 854 [856]

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands. 857 855

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed [231] [285]

855 ● 857 [285] ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 863 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 184 462 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woodsmen's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 155 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nurturance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

862 effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively.

856 857 For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinancy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!"

853 412 415 As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful.

853 264 862 At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The 866
mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grand-
mother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She 603
then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's 855
crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grand-
mother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be [596]
said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the
dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility.

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more re- 603
strained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or
doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, 858
the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. 866
Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers.
Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.*

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for 866
independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned
and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. 857
On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate [862]
older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother
will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are [524]
usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and
rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with
or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the [155]
responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings.

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of 867
aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected
with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back 593
and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior

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* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed 858
with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten 861
children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and
attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. [872]
"They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better,"
say adults.

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling 861
of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject
to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to 867
say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and
"Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying
to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A
piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from
the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank
you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over
the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah,"
baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and
screaming on the part of the young child.

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and,
if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably
joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing."
Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked
up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty!
Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child [855]
starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding
you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child.

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During [857]
all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at
faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited,
adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on,
shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to
look up and then continued with their play.

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains 857
and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten 872
child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand

● 857 to gather with others his age under the great banyan tree at the lower
872 water tank. On rainy days he proceeds to the empty warehouse. There
is no compulsion to go; he can join another renegade at the upper tank
or on the beach, if he feels inclined to. As the group grows, games of
tag, marbles, and rope jumping are started. By the time the kinder-
garten teacher arrives on the scene, the children have organized them-
selves into numbers of little groups and games. She carries the big drum
872 from the village office to the banyan tree, and, even before she drums
876 to signal the start of the session, little girls are lining up in front of
her. The boys, as if to assert their maleness, play on, disregarding her
until she calls sternly to them. Soon a line of boys forms next to the
line of girls. As the teacher instructs all to straighten the formations by
putting hands onto the shoulders of those in front, boys begin tickling
each other and slapping in time to the song of the kindergarteners. The
teacher frowns at the boys and tries hard to suppress an amused smile,
for the sounds of the childish voices are so incongruent with the brazen
attitude. With her drumsticks she reaches over to lightly tap a head, a
buttock, and an offending arm. Soon there is order, and she bows
slightly, saying, "Good morning, students." The children respond with,
"Good morning, teacher," the boys exaggerating the politeness with
deep bows and shouting voices. The teacher smiles, then instructs all to
stand up straight to sing the kindergarten song. Roughly translated
it goes, "We are kindergarteners. . . . We play together well. . . ."
There are motions to go with the song, and the girls, with their serious
concentration to be perfect in their performance, contrast sharply with
the improvisations of the boys. The teacher ignores this and interrupts
her singing occasionally to laugh and reach over with the drumstick to
restrain a particularly disturbing boy.

863 When the song is completed, she comments on the excellent singing
872 performance and then goes on to ask how many children remembered
876 to wash their faces and hands before coming to kindergarten. There is
an embarrassed twitter among the girls and a few downcast eyes, but
the majority proudly raise their hands. As she examines the children,
she comments that those who are negligent should be ashamed. From
among their ranks a voice calls out, "Teacher, teacher! I didn't wash my
face and hands, and I am not ashamed!" A little girl comments, "Fool
thing!" The teacher finally hears his insistent cries and has him repeat
his information. She tries hard to look disapproving, but laughs spon-
taneously instead as she lightly whacks his buttocks with the drumstick,
saying, "What do you mean, you have not washed your hands and face
and you are not ashamed!" She turns to inspect the children one by
one, still smiling and commenting on a dirty ear and unkempt finger-

872 876 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 ● 857 [875] The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 [576] [515] [291] Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before entering the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 867 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village, adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed. "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves 857
how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is 855
a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts 156
the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups
of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which
reference will often be made.

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those 857
who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the 769
narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies 775
of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for
the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social [852]
gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a
fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon,
scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a
peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman
who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners,
and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon,
they also had to be warned to stay away.

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The 857
village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office 858
space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter
during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village
headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a
group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon
afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections
are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants.
These buildings are village gathering places, and children,
as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The
situation is different with regard to the township office and the post
office, which children never enter except on special errands.

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and 855
show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is 857
wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles,
kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail,
wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over
rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a
group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to
be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge.
None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage
in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked
nectar.

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

955 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

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wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frustrated,
866 for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy burden
[155] from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with
866 pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he attains
514 this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers
[887] in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

863 515 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was present at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. ● [857] Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 4-year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

> A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to finish. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

855 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He
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can still try to get his way by crying, and his mother willingly con- 855
tinues to give him food when he asks. One parent remarked that it 861
was much easier to meet the child's demands. Observations confirmed this statement. Many adults simply say "Yes" and promise things to children which they promptly forget. Obedience is not expected except for conformity with safety rules. Until shortly before he starts off to school, the child's disobedience tends to be excused. "No, no!" says a mother to her year-old child who may be waving a piece of sugar cane around her head from his perch on her back. The child continues, and the mother pushes the stalk aside each time she is hit. "Know nothing," she says as she rearranges the stalk, to avoid being hit. "Don't mess the yard," screams a grandmother. "Stop puddling in that mud," shouts a father. "Go and bring me the hoe," commands a mother. To all these requests the child may turn a deaf ear, and chances are that he will escape being punished for not complying. Mothers admitted that they allow their children a great deal of leeway concerning obedience.

By instilling fear into the child about the dangers of the well, river
and beach, the main road and paddies, adults attempt to enforce the 857
rules of safety. Their attempts are negated, however, when they allow 855
children of this age to play in these areas in the company of older 861
siblings. No one coming across schoolchildren trailed by kindergarteners censures or points out the danger of these places; however, should an adult or older child come upon a group of kindergarten children playing alone at the river or beach, a word of caution or reprimand is sure to be offered.

In a village such as Taira with its closely situated houses, dry thatched roofs, and light wood walls, the danger of fire is very real; therefore the rule with respect to playing with fire and matches is stringently enforced regardless of the age of the child. One mother of a 4-year-old boy found smoke rising from the backyard one day. She went to the source of the smoke and found her 4-year-old busily striking matches and trying to whip up a fire. His 4-year-old companion was scurrying about for pieces of brush and paper with which to feed the fire. "I scolded him roundly, spanked him and tied his hands. I threatened to put him in a basket, then suspend the basket from the rafter posts the next time he played with matches. He was so frightened that I doubt whether he will ever play with matches again."

Aggression in children up to school age is generally tolerated al- 865
though adults do not approve of such behavior. Because they feel that 857
preschool children change their minds and moods so rapidly, adults
do not interfere with their altercations. Parents laughingly explain, 861

865 857 [861] "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again. In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

[124] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist) will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 858 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally, docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit. They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger. Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not exempt.

865 155 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months, altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other. 865 155

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically. 857 861

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade. 858 866

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is [872]

858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth,
and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before
and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

off. One or two anxious mothers accompany the group "to see that 512
they will be all right on their first day of school."

Walking down the road to school, the child smiles proudly as adults 872
comment, "Hah! See how he struts, that big first grader!" He moves to 857
the side of the road as a big lumber truck comes rumbling along and
remembers the warnings about the steep bank near the river. The
older schoolchildren, walking more leisurely, lag behind and keep a
close watch on their younger schoolmates.

SCHOOL ROUTINE

When they reach the schoolyard, the older children run to their 872
rooms to drop their books so that they can play unencumbered, but
the first graders cling to their books and lunches. Gathering into little
groups according to their villages, they inspect each other at a discreet
distance. As the elementary school is situated in the neighboring village of Kawata, which is visited frequently by Taira villagers, the children exchange notes on the extent of their acquaintance with this bigger, older place.

At last the bell is sounded by one of the teachers. Immediately there
is a cry to gather. Each class forms two lines in front of their respective
teachers. There is bedlam in the first-grade lines as the only boy from
one village is directed into the boy's line and separated from the three
girls with whom he had walked to school. The principal calls out impatiently for all to straighten the lines. He calls out signals, "Extend
arms forward, palms down, fingers barely touching shoulders ahead."
Teachers survey the lines and call out to those who mar them. Arms [516]
are dropped. Girls are instructed to stand with their arms to their sides
and boys with their hands folded behind them, their feet slightly
separated.

From his perch on a 3-foot-high concrete block, the principal calls
out the signals again, and the whole procedure of lining up is repeated; this time, however, he holds them at attention in a formal position. In crisp tones he calls out, "Pupils, good morning!" Instantly
the children respond, "Teacher, good morning," bowing gravely. [516]
There is some confusion in the first-grade lines, but the teachers
quickly attend to it.

Standing once more in a relaxed position, the students listen
thoughtfully to the principal's message. He welcomes the first graders [876]
and commends them for their orderliness but warns them to behave
like first graders and not kindergarteners. There is an amused ripple

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855 dangers of vehicular traffic, steep banks, snakes, the beach, and the river.

RETURNING HOME

857 291 The first graders leave the schoolyard reluctantly, but once they reach the road their footsteps quicken. The boys shuffle along to see how much dust they can raise, for they are not so concerned about their new canvas shoes with rubber soles. The girls stop to dust off theirs at regular intervals with such comments as: "When they get very dirty, we can take them to Yamagawa well and wash them," or, "My mother says I cannot have another pair for a long time because they are so expensive," or, "On rainy days I will walk barefoot to save my shoes."

857 855 "Ai! Fool one!" suddenly exclaims one of the girls. The others turn to look at her, then follow her gaze. The boys, who have left the road, thus disregarding one of the cardinal rules of safety, are scurrying about in the bush in search of wild berries. They stand above the road eating their finds on the spot and exaggeratedly mimic the girls' censure on their behavior. There is a rumbling noise, and the girls stop on the side of the road to let the lumber truck pass before continuing their walk. An adult sitting on top of the wood in the back of the truck shouts, "Eh, get out of the bush before the snake strikes!" The girls giggle and watch the shamefaced boys scramble down the embankment to the road. They carry on a lively exchange of stories of snake victims, turning occasionally toward the boys with meaningful glances.

857 [291] The midday sun is hot. The dry sandy dirt of the road reflects the heat of the sun, and little beads of perspiration run down the flushed faces of the first graders as they plod wearily homeward. Suddenly one of the girls lifts her wide-brimmed straw hat, "Oh, how cool it feels when the wind blows through the hair!" she exclaims. With a sudden burst of enthusiasm, the other girls lift their hats. Surreptitiously the boys imitate the girls.

The junior high school comes into view and with it the bridge over the Fukuji River, and beyond it the land bridge leading directly into the village of Taira. Spirits immediately lift, and the children's pace quickens. As they enter the village, they assume an assured appearance. Their posture is upright and proud. They parade past the main street where mothers, grandmothers, and siblings wait. Each one is greeted

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to
assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly
sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less
interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate
between commands for the performance of tasks and rules
of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to
command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls
far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however,
is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special
865 status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the
new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

861 [124] [593] Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sibling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 4-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 5-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 • 857 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one. we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 4-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chopsticks on the floor in a fit of anger. [261] Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861 867 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 593 [857] Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," according to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an explanation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously. 861 593

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child." 861 [867]

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food. [124] [261]

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake. 857 861

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger, 861

TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely
heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom
"teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised
and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to
transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put
to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves,"
was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults
are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear
their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special
[852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult
ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings,
and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a parent,
grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea,
● 857 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While
243 rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the
[264] paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults
transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down
into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have
seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water
play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to
the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for
their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along
the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of
some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily
until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to
carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has
learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles
of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around
283 the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope.
If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope,
[526] while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and
swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by
watching the older children and soon they pick up stray bits of straw
and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

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crouch with their mothers, who are busy with the laundry. It is not long before they pick up a small article of clothing and start soaping, rubbing, and rinsing just as their mothers do.

IMITATIVE PLAY

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What children observe in adult life is frequently acted out in play situations. Before a girl is old enough to do all the household work alone, she can always find satisfaction for her desire to learn an adult role by imitating it in play. Playing "house" is an activity which all girls from the age of 4 to 9 or 10 indulge in constantly at all times of the year. The beach, yard, empty lots of uninhabited houses serve as locales for this play. Girls "act out" the role of the mother in the household in crude but painstakingly constructed "houses." Boys rarely join in this kind of play, which is not surprising, since males have very little to do with the day-to-day happenings in the house. Invariably there is a play store at which all the "mothers" converge to buy their daily supply of bean paste, noodles, or dried seaweed, but the most concentrated locale of activity is in the "kitchen of the houses." Here elaborate meals are prepared with sand for rice, grass roots for noodles, chopped up pandanus leaves for greens, and hibiscus for red coloring. Frequently during the vegatable season discarded carrots, cabbage, and turnips are used in make-believe dishes. Shells of all kinds serve as plates and bowls and sticks, into which cockle shells are wedged, as spoons. Bamboo pieces serve as chopsticks. An 8-year-old may spirit the real kitchen knife to chop up the "vegetables" if the house-playing takes place near the home. Deftly she slices the carrots and turnips and mixes them into water. If she is fortunate, she and her playmates can use a temporarily uninhabited house in which the hearth stones and wire hung pot still remain, in which case she need not construct one out of small rocks. As she orders her "children" to go to the store for rice or salt, she jogs up and down to quiet the infant that fusses on her back. Finally the meal is ready to serve. The "family" without "father" all sit in the kitchen on their knees as she busily serves the various concoctions. There is a disturbance "outside," and she turns to look as one of her children shouts. "Oh, look what the boys have done!" "Fools! Go away!" she shouts as she runs after the laughing boys who have taken a few of the bamboo sticks that delineate the house walls. "We are robbers, robbers come to rob you!" shout the boys as they run away. After the "meal" is finished and while she is washing dishes, she hears someone

calling, "Good day." She hurries forward and finds a 5-year-old boy standing at her door. "Want anything today?" asks the boy, unloading a bunch of grass. The "mother" smiles, amused, then she sorts through the grass and hands over some "money" and thanks the "peddler" as he goes on his way to the next house. The peddler turns out to be the same boy who was the robber. When his peddling bores him, he returns to robbing and finally leaves the scene entirely. As the "mother" returns to her kitchen to work toward her next meal, one of the "children" returns "home" with a bunch of flowers. As it is the fifteenth day of the lunar calendar, she hurries to put them into a small empty bottle. She places the flowers on the family shrine shelf along with "incense sticks." This done, she goes out to the "store." 857 524

After "marketing," preparations for the next meal begin; but as she works intently, there is a call. "Good day, excuse me . . ." calls a voice in high-pitched tones which are the essence of politeness and femininity. As visitor greets hostess, the etiquette of adult life is enacted with much finesse. "Tea" is brought in by an "older daughter," and polite talk is exchanged over it. Sitting quite properly on her knees, the hostess "bows her guest" out of the house as she has seen her own mother do countless times. And so it goes, day after day, little girls who never seem to tire of imitating their mothers until they approach the age of 10, when unmistakable signs of self-consciousness affect their behavior.

In other respects, too, the play situation is often turned into a valuable learning experience. These are play activities which are in reality beginnings of assuming responsibility toward economic contributions for the home. A kindergarten child follows his older sibling or mother down to the beach. The trip is made to collect seaweed for the pigs, but the young child just goes along for recreation. The young child, unable to discriminate between the different kinds of seaweed, drops into the basket whatever she picks up. She "plays at collecting seaweed." The older sibling silently picks out the undesirable variety and discards it. Many times the portion the younger child has collected is rejected, but before long, through observation and imitation, he learns to pick the particular kind of seaweed which is desired. The older sibling in many cases does not attempt to instruct by saying, "Pick the green, smooth kind that grows thick on the rocks." Instead, he may just nod or shake his head if the younger brings forward some for approval or disapproval. 857 863

On one gathering trip in the fields, a 10-year-old boy devised a game which actually was instructive in nature. He was accompanied by his two male cousins, 3 and 4 years old. They were hunting for

857 868 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 593 861 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 857 593 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

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playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities.

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

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In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays.

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

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Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father."

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly
in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
861 mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way
a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the
mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however,
are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women
[124] knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out
of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male
child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any
593 other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
512 go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark.
A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
593 fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
855 of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however,
that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on
the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or
aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

855 857 Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls.

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

858 562 There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males. A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl.

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Chapter 17

Latency

857 561 By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or

● 857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which
younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second
grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually
increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency
period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can
seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
857 status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much
less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after
868 a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
231 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows
and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.

866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

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[775] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. 866
After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group [861] control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. 857 ● A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger sibling during a whole afternoon. 866 A boy, looking after a younger child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. 855 In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and girls is a cultural one. 857 Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both are, on the adult level, performed by women. 858 Cutting and gathering grass for horses and goats is men's work, 462 but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's 857 increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers 866 from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
[861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it
[861] is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it, she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, with-
[855] out too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
[653] and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pressures in responsibility training. When tasks are mere routine, interfering with playing and other favorite activities, they are not always discharged with enthusiasm. We have already referred to this in the discussion of child care. On the other hand, there are many expressions, starting actually at kindergarten level, which reveal identification with adolescents and adults. 857 866 [156]

To the question, "What would you like to do best?" there were such answers from boys as: "I would like to go to the mountains and earn money" (7 years), and "I would like to plant rice" (8 years); and from girls: "I would like to cook, and I would like to transplant rice" (7 years), "I would like to cook rice and soup" (7 years with a wide grin), and "I would like to teach other children calculation if they need help, and take the place of the teacher" (10 years), adding, "Then I can punish boys who bully girls, too." [124]

We learned something more about the identification with older children and young adults, and perhaps a feeling of envy of their status, from answers to questions such as, "Who would you like to be most if you could be changed into anybody by magic?" and "What age would you be if you could be any age?" And, in answering, children also revealed something of their needs, motivations, and goals. A 7-year-old boy stated that, "I would like to be 15 years old, then I can go deep places to swim . . . and then I can go to the mountains and earn money and buy rice, noodles, and help father and mother." He then expressed achievement motivation in his answer: "I would like to become a scholar on plant roots. Then I will know why trees wither and die. I want to save them because otherwise people cannot make money. Then I will be happy and feel good." Although this boy's father is not one of the prominent village leaders, he seems here to express the feeling which, we believe, explains much of the responsible behavior in village leaders. We also see a desire for independence in the answer of a 10-year-old boy, "I would like to be 20 years, then I can go and do work on my own," and nurturance with an almost sanctimonious overtone, perhaps linked to hidden anxiety about aggression, in this response to the magic man query, "I would have him change me into a big, big person. Then I can go and hit anyone who bullies little persons . . . I can look all over the whole village and catch all bad persons and talk to them . . . I can make them all good." This answer, which expresses, again, achievement desires was given by an 8-year-old boy, "I would like to be 16 years old because then studies will be easier and I can wrestle like the *seinen* (young adults)," followed by "Make me into a township official because they have 'good heads' (are intelligent) and they [124]

857 866 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by [124] this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mot[illegible] so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

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SCHOOL ROUTINE

The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds. The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight 872
hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about 857
school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick 512
game before leaving the village.

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of
the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play 872
until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until 876
they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village.
Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much [858]
quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet.

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the oc-
casional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by [875]
his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, [857]
a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly.

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

> The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or
several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor
and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate
model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have
872 learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
● 857 a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried
to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from
the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress?
Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena
and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few
of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the
affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag
868 and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational
value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the
upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later
[241] in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on
the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers'
supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

his chair, doesn't seem to mind boy's slapping. He is not really angry, smiles. Looking at observer, he stops slapping, pinches K. under desk. 858

In none of the observations on schoolchildren's behavior were there examples of Taira boys protecting Taira girls from the teasing of other village boys. Instead, during school hours boys tend to team up with boys, girls with girls, although among each sex there is a tendency to associate more with those from one's own community. 876 865

PLAY GROUPS

By midafternoon all schoolchildren have returned to the village, and play groups can be found in various locations. The more stringent requirements of school seem to have been forgotten. Hardly any students of the elementary grades study immediately after returning from school. For two hours or more they spend their time with peers and younger siblings. 857

A play group comes into existence when two or three children meet in the street, in the corner of a garden, or in one of the many open lots and village places. All Taira children are intimate with each other because since early childhood they have been together during the greater part of the day. There is always a slight preference for one another among some children, either because they are close neighbors of the same age and sex, or cousins, or otherwise congenial. Although these special friends associate more often with each other, they do not exclude other children who want to join their play. Once children attend school, association on the basis of sex and age becomes more distinct. The total composition of a play group, however, shifts from day to day and from locality to locality. If one group starts a game, other children in the vicinity soon join to form a new group to play a similar game nearby. Such a play group numbers from two to ten or more children. Most frequently, however, groups are composed of children of the same sex and similar age.

There are several factors, however, which lead to variations in this general pattern. If a school age girl is the oldest in the family and has several younger siblings to care for in the afternoons, she will frequently be found in the company of younger girls and hence younger boys, the play groups being more mixed at the younger ages.

M., a 7-year-old girl with three younger sisters (ages 4, 3, and 1) was usually found in a large play group composed primarily of younger children. In contrast, S, a girl of 10, was found in smaller groups. Although she has no younger siblings to tend, she frequently cares for a

● 857 neighbor's child. Her charge, however is an infant who is still carried and does not yet seek the companionship of other young children. S. interacts less frequently with other children not only because of the age of her charge but also because she is older and hence has more duties at home and in the fields. Furthermore, she was born in 1945, a year when few other children were born in Taira. [163]

K., a boy of 10, is similar to S. in that he has no siblings who need care, the youngest being a 4-year-old girl who can travel with her 7-year-old sisters. In contrast to S., however, he interacts more frequently with children of the same sex and same age or older.

AGGRESSION BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

865 857 858 We have touched on the relationship between latency boys and girls in school, implying that the bullying which occurs frequently there is less frequent in the community. Boys sometimes tease girls but less persistently and less often than in school. Since boys associate mostly with boys, and girls with girls, and since contact between sexes of the same age takes place mostly in group names, it is seldom unfriendly. Teasing among boys, and teasing among girls, is common, so that it would be hard to maintain that between the sexes it is more frequent. Once in a while, boys will keep girls out of their game, or girls will be annoyed when boys join them. Some of the kindergarten boys, as we have mentioned, like to be the disruptive agents in peaceful housekeeping games by assuming the role of a robber or wild animal. Two 5-year-old boys who generally enjoy teasing others select girls as their target now and then. Sometimes girls are just the objects of generalized aggression, as in the case presented below. M., a 5-year-old boy, first interacts aggressively with another 5-year-old boy, F., and then turns on a girl.

> F. has picked up a piece of pink paper and comes carrying it up to M. He holds it against his chest, stands in front of M. and smiles. "Give it to me," says M., and F. just stands smiling, mumbling, "Hmmm, maybe," but does not hand it over. M. rushes him and attacks him with his fist and takes it away from F. who stands laughing. M. rolls the paper around the end of his stick and walks down the lane toward a group of kindergarten-age girls.
>
> Y. (4-year-old girl) comes walking up from behind M. M. turns around and raises his stick menacingly at her. Y. looks anxious, maneuvers quickly around him to join the girls, and laughs nervously. M. smiles smugly, walks back to boys.

When provoked, the girls will often fight back, and they score equally well, especially in verbal aggression. At other times they accept the teasing good humoredly, as seen in the incident of a 10-year-old girl, S., who is teased by a 7-year-old boy, A., described in the following protocol. 865 857 858

> S. is guarding the can in a can-kicking game. A. (who has been playing a rubber band game with another boy nearby) looks up, smiles, goes running over to the can and kicks it with his foot, yelling, "Safe!" S., whose back is turned to him, jumps, turns around and sees him. "You're not playing this game," she laughs and A. laughs and goes back to his own game. [526]

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIBLINGS

As mentioned above, the caretaking responsibility and the tendency of younger siblings who are beyond the carrying stage to follow an older brother or sister keep siblings together a great deal during play. When an older brother has to mind a younger sister, he is usually not overly protective. He seldom defends his sister from teasing and sometimes is more aggressive to her than he would be to others if she interferes with his activities. There is, of course, a great deal of variation due to personality. A 5-year-old boy (one of the teasers described above) sometimes pushes his younger sister, and she runs home crying. An 11-year-old boy, on the other hand, when he takes care of his four younger sisters, or some of them, is usually quite protective and nurturant. 593 857 [865]

A record of the behavior of T. (7 years), his younger sister H. (4 years), and other boys illustrates a brother-sister interaction. T. and other boys have made a swing and T. is sitting on it while A. (5-year-old boy) and H. try to get turns:

> A. tries to get him off the swing. H., who expected that her turn would come next, whines "nisan (older brother)" and while A. tries to get T. off, she keeps on whining, "This should be enough." T. replies, "This is A.'s turn"; while A. is trying to get on the swing, H. starts crying and goes into the house. Apparently an adult is in the house. T. follows, voices are heard, but not understood. T. returns after a moment and helps F. (another boy) push A. on the swing. H. seems to have stopped crying. We heard no adult scolding T. or talking to H. H. returns, no longer crying. She stands behind T. whose body swings back and forth while pushing A. H. pushes T.'s swinging body to help him. A., F., and H. sing in rhythm, "one, two, three," etc. After song is finished, H. says, "Brother, it is my turn next." T. ignores her, but A. gets off the swing and H. sits on it. H. swings by herself. T. orders A. to help him push the door next to the swing open. A. complies. T.'s mother passes, does not say anything. After the door has been opened (and more room gained), T. and A. push H.

593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something
to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he
wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed
on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when
his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin)
feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably
and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With
[865] H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him,
and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with
boys' play.

● 857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very
close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward mem-
593 bers of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this
858 pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between
younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation
of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced
in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how
866 they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the
call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed
156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being
scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied, "I would do my work first and then go out to play, whether my parents are home or not." 857 866

The mother of a younger boy reported that he is so anxious to rejoin his playmates that he barely gives himself time enough at home to eat his meal. It is our feeling that it is not just the desire to play which pulls children away from assigned tasks, but the urge to be with peers. The attitude of mothers encourages play groups. They tell their children: "Do not play alone; go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you." As one mother put it: "It looks so lonely when (my child) is playing alone." Only one mother, whose child-rearing methods in general deviate from those of others because she and her husband set high achievement goals and standards for their child, said that she would like to have her son play alone occasionally. In this way she hoped he would devote some time to educational activities. It is interesting, however, that several mothers mentioned the names of other children whom they considered unsuitable playmates for their child, either because they were too bossy, or too aggressive, or had otherwise undesirable qualities in their judgment. If, however, there is selectivity among children on the basis of their parents' desires, we were not aware of it. 156

Peers assume increasing importance as socializing agents as they grow older. Schoolchildren of the same age watch and control each other so that there is hardly need for interference by adults. Older children remind younger ones who neglect a crying young sibling to attend to his needs. Failure to respond to the succorant pleas of a younger sibling meets with disapproval. Peers rarely interfere directly with the activities of others, but do so by remarks to each other, and by other indirect means through which they achieve compliance or conformity. There are some obvious situations when outright commands by an older child are needed. For example, when a 3-year-old girl pulled the plug from the concrete water tank and was immediately frightened by the stream of water pouring out, a 6-year-old girl nearby called, "Close it," and watched as the little one hurriedly put the plug into place. Hardly ever does one hear children taking the role of an adult in trying to demand conformity from peers with rules set by adults. Only the boy mentioned earlier, whose parents make determined efforts to train him toward responsibility and achievement, occasionally attempts to correct the behavior of peers by talking like an adult. He always does it in a quasi-nurturant, responsible manner, perhaps because he strongly identifies with his father, one of the village leaders. 857 156 861

Parents do not like their children to become "leaders." Almost all 857 866

857 866 of them disapprove of dominance in their children: "It would be terrible if my child would tell this child and that child to do one thing or another and they would get into trouble." The fear expressed here, and in similar statements, is obviously that leadership entails responsibility in case anything goes wrong, and parents do not like to be put in a position where they or their children could be blamed.

865 857 156 The Western observer, perhaps, is most impressed with the ability of children to manage their own affairs. Fights occur, and disagreements crop up frequently, but almost without exception these matters are settled within the group and without dramatic scenes in which adults become involved. There are no violent fights or quarrels which break up groups and cause prolonged hostile feelings among children. Least of all did we find bullying and harassing of younger children by the older ones, although younger ones are often assigned inferior roles in play by the older children.

ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

857 524 In part, at least, the tone among these play groups is set by the surprising variety of activities that children engage in during the year, innumerable games which come and go in cycles, but which have a village-wide appeal while they last. All of them are played with a minimum of equipment and a maximum of inventiveness and enthusiasm. There are few toys which parents can buy their children, and fewer still which they make for them. This situation is met with great ingenuity. Children use any objects available to them—discarded household equipment, empty cans, boxes, or whatever they pick and gather from trees, bushes, and the ground. Round stones, peas, and seeds serve as marbles; an empty carton becomes a truck or boat. Wooden sticks, bamboo, an old bicycle wheel without a tire find some use. Suddenly one day children run about with helmets made of cabbage leaves, swinging little pistols made of a piece of bamboo, or a stick as a dagger. Girls gather shells and gravel on the beach and carry pieces in their dress pockets. In the absence of dolls, girls have a younger sibling to act the part of "child" in realistic play. Babies, however, are never used in such games.

Boys and girls like to play games of skill. Girls often pull out five stones from their pockets and play a kind of jacks. There are also many versions of ball games in which one girl performs several stunts with a ball while she sings a song. If she makes a mistake, another one

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gets a turn. Teams of two girls at a time play hopscotch, which they call "parent and child game."

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An old Okinawan game of skill on which early Western visitors have frequently commented is still a favorite of Taira boys, 5 years and older. This is a kind of stick-ball game. A wedge-shaped piece of wood 3 to 4 inches long and pointed at both ends and a striking club are used. Children whittle both with a knife. This game is played by two or more players, and the purpose of the game is to get the wedge into a hole. The game requires a series of skillful manipulations of the wedge with the club. It is an exciting and competitive game. Each player is awarded a number of points for certain accomplished acts. Although boys are quite absorbed in this play, there are rarely any arguments and the winner hardly ever shows any pride. Winners seldom boast after a game, and the observers felt that the satisfaction is really gained from the performance, not from having outdone others. Girls sometimes join the boys in this game.

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Boys and girls, separately or together, play other games of skill, such as marbles. A challenge by another starts a game, sometimes of two, sometimes of four or six players. There is usually a kibitzer around who becomes involved. Two games in the same play area are not uncommon while spectators wait for their turns later.

Equally common, but frowned on by the school because of its gambling character, is a rubber band game. The store uses rubber bands to tie packages. Children carry a number on their arms. Each player chips in a number of bands, two or more, depending on agreement. The person who starts the game is decided on by tossing. The rubber bands are put on a cement or wooden surface, a step or block with a ledge from which the rubber can drop down. They are placed at some distance from the ledge. Then they are moved toward it, either by hitting the ground with the palm of the hand, slightly cupped so that air escapes, or by blowing. The rubber bands drop over the ledge, and the person whose rubber band first overlaps with another wins the stake. This game continues until one player has won all the rubber bands. Parents object to the game only if the children buy rubber bands instead of collecting them.

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Boys like to practice skill in sports. Wrestling, a national sport in Japan and the Ryukyus during spring and early summer, is taken up by boys who copy young men and older students, and for several weeks wrestling matches get spontaneously under way. Prior to the annual island-wide athletic meets in September, boys practice high jump, broad jump, and relay running. There is much practice for the mere [157]

857 526 [157] fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding performance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good performer is occassionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 857 [527] [871] These are games that children may play on any day in the year. During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 [156] Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school, where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

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the household have had theirs. By 10 o'clock children have finally disappeared from the street and paths.

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262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, white-fish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [823] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those [231] for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten ● [857] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

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252 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimun) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an [251] equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [209] [177] Play. Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[564] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 [881] [877] 877 882 Youth. Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

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[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

[2] Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

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562 *Adult Responsibility* For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
[857] give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grand-
[887] children while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons. She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
[857] play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
[887] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

562 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had before. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and
[794] influential. Both the religious functionaries (*kaminchu*) of the kinship group
[756] and the seeresses or mediums (*yuta*) consulted on numerous occasions are usually women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (*sanjinsoo*) has less chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neighborhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

886 *Formal Recognition of Old Age* A man may officially retire , that is, he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family
888 purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the
527 celebration of "year days" (*tushibii*). These are held on the anniversaries of the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are celebrated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
227 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given
land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a
[463] month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider
has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment
worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks,
[476] and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors
in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
463 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupa-
241 tion. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more,
though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the
younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are
eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan
student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the
town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

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858 STATUS OF CHILDREN--cultural definition of status periods and progression of statuses during infancy and childhood; rights, privileges, and powers of children (e. g., special exemptions); restrictions and disabilities of infants and children (e. g., special taboos); conception of legal minority; extent to which children are treated as inherently inferior or merely as inexperienced adults; stereotyped ideas about children (e. g., concepts of the good and the naughty child); differential expectations and treatment of children (e. g., according to age, sex), etc; **See also:**

Kin relationships	60	Family relationships	593
Guardianship	429	Legal liability	672
Age stratification	561	Juvenile courts	696
Marriageability of children	582	Special mortuary rites	766
		Concept of legal majority	884

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite 843
the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the
doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which 164
had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding
work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance.
"Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any [461]
difficulties. Young people pamper themselves."

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the 843
benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the
baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall [262]
the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits.

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about [292]
the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman.

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the 844
mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with 843
relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains.

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules 844
her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts,
she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the [759]
kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position.
Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does [152]
a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any
loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort.

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large
number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually [858]
children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they
are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be al- [593]
lowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery.

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

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* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are be-
[843] lieved to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is
given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from
herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

● 858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

177 With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, accord-
[861] ing to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized concretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.* They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count) conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japanese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly, with a great deal of affection.

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* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child 776
must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural 777
forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate
to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and un- 854
lucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate
of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered un- [581]
lucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men
dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary
measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and
health.

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. 597
Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early
years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be 769
more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By 755
mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the
fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption.
The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits
of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-
being of the child.

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the 155
variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a
large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They 828
recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may com- 858
ment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and [124]
other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs
that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describ-
ing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which
can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain
the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas
my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others
have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how
it is that she is so unlike either of us."

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents.
Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can [826]
see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and
on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee,
"Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn
sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me!
You and I are 'naughty,' " he whispered to her. Turning to the adults
in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as
he reported his discovery joyfully.

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The 866
mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother,
can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She 603
then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's 855
crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother
immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be [596]
said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the
dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility.

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained.
Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or 603
doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, 858
the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. 866
Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers.
Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship
with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show
disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male
child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the
house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his
succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.*

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for 866
independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned
and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. 857
On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate [862]
older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother
will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are [524]
usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and
rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to
comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being
such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and
report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and
reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with
or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the [155]
responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings.

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of 867
aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected
with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back 593
and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one
instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against
the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or
try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive
actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior

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* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

867 593 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 858 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be en- 858
dowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kin- 861
dergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and
attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. [872]
"They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better,"
say adults.

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire han- 861
dling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject
to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to 867
say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child.

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child [855]
starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child.

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During [857]
all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play.

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and moun-
tains and older children have left the village for school, the kinder- 857
garten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand 872

872 526 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the [524] length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 262 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines 872 already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout 876 of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised ● 258 arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858 ●

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher[2] starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to 872 876

[i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST]

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for them- 857
selves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is 855
a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely re- 156
stricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made.

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those 857
who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the 769
narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies 775
of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for [852]
the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away.

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The 857
village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office 858
space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands.

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and 855
show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is 857
wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar.

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

865 857 [861] "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again. In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

[124] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist) will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 ● 858 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally, docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit. They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger. Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not exempt.

865 155 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months, altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but 865
never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when dis- 155
agreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other.

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the 857
young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers 861
arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically.

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents 858
now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and 866
responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade.

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in [872]
Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is

● 858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth,
and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before
and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls. 855 857

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males. A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl. [858] ● [56·2]

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Chapter 17

Latency

By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or 857 561

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. 866
After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties [861]
than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger 857
sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger 866
child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. 855
In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and 857
girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both
are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering 858
grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying 462
and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's 857
increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers 866
from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

857 866 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by [124] this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

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SCHOOL ROUTINE

The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds. The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight 872
hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about 857
school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick 512
game before leaving the village.

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of 872
the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play
until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until 876
they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision
but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The
atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is
nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness
or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village.
Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much 858
quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers
seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through
all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud
comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for
the toilet.

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the oc- 875
casional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by
his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, 857
a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through
a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning.
A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous
night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson.
If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to
respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly.

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

> The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

866 last," was essentially echoed by the five other school girls in the sample
876 of six. Three, however, thought they would not mind too much being in the middle, though they would prefer to be first, and all seemed to agree with the statement of one that "it is no fun to be the last," and as one said (and the five others put it in similar words): "If I am last, then I would work very hard. . . ." Wanting to be first and doing something about it are, of course, two different things. But the intentions of girls to work hard are stated more strongly than those of boys. And, significantly, none of the girls mentioned fear of scolding or shame.

Does this mean, then, that girls have a higher achievement motivation than boys or are they just more responsible and obedient? At
[858] home girls have been trained to assume responsibilities at a slightly earlier age than boys and have, therefore, been exposed to more rewards for doing their tasks than boys—and also more scolding for doing them only in part or not at all, although the fear of being scolded is not verbalized. It may be that the desire to do well becomes an end in itself for these girls because of previous satisfactions and, possibly, fears. And to some extent, observations of classroom behavior and participation in studies by girls would bear out that they make more determined efforts to perform well in class.

Mothers' replies to the questions "How satisfied do you feel about how well your child does things?" and more specifically, "What do you do if he does poorly?" were uniformly positive expressions. All mothers said that they were not only happy with good performances but also actually encouraged good work at school by giving praise and often special food. Only three mothers of the boys who expected scolding said that they would do so if their child did poorly; two others suggested that they would talk to the child to make him perform better. The mother of one boy who stated that he would feel ashamed to be placed at the bottom said that if her boy "should do something poorly I would tell him that he has become 'useless, hopeless.' " None of the girls' mothers, on the other hand, indicated that she would scold their daughter for poor performance.

Mothers, then, though purporting to be interested in their children's performance in school, are actually using, at best, mild pressures toward satisfactory accomplishments. Although they genuinely feel a pleasure over good performance, we wonder if they express and enforce their sentiments toward children consistently enough, emphatically enough, and frequently enough to make an impact. We rather think that mothers who work in fields and mountains all day

866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among
boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.

876 The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may
volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other
231 assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats,
which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school
routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom;
they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the
educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes
we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World
War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls
876 in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

> . . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

his chair, doesn't seem to mind boy's slapping. He is not really angry, smiles. Looking at observer, he stops slapping, pinches K. under desk. 858

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In none of the observations on schoolchildren's behavior were there examples of Taira boys protecting Taira girls from the teasing of other village boys. Instead, during school hours boys tend to team up with boys, girls with girls, although among each sex there is a tendency to associate more with those from one's own community.

PLAY GROUPS

By midafternoon all schoolchildren have returned to the village, and play groups can be found in various locations. The more stringent requirements of school seem to have been forgotten. Hardly any students of the elementary grades study immediately after returning from school. For two hours or more they spend their time with peers and younger siblings. 857

A play group comes into existence when two or three children meet in the street, in the corner of a garden, or in one of the many open lots and village places. All Taira children are intimate with each other because since early childhood they have been together during the greater part of the day. There is always a slight preference for one another among some children, either because they are close neighbors of the same age and sex, or cousins, or otherwise congenial. Although these special friends associate more often with each other, they do not exclude other children who want to join their play. Once children attend school, association on the basis of sex and age becomes more distinct. The total composition of a play group, however, shifts from day to day and from locality to locality. If one group starts a game, other children in the vicinity soon join to form a new group to play a similar game nearby. Such a play group numbers from two to ten or more children. Most frequently, however, groups are composed of children of the same sex and similar age.

There are several factors, however, which lead to variations in this general pattern. If a school age girl is the oldest in the family and has several younger siblings to care for in the afternoons, she will frequently be found in the company of younger girls and hence younger boys, the play groups being more mixed at the younger ages.

M., a 7-year-old girl with three younger sisters (ages 4, 3, and 1) was usually found in a large play group composed primarily of younger children. In contrast, S, a girl of 10, was found in smaller groups. Although she has no younger siblings to tend, she frequently cares for a

857 neighbor's child. Her charge, however is an infant who is still carried and does not yet seek the companionship of other young children. S. interacts less frequently with other children not only because of the age of her charge but also because she is older and hence has more duties at home and in the fields. Furthermore, she was born in 1945, a year when few other children were born in Taira. [163]

K., a boy of 10, is similar to S. in that he has no siblings who need care, the youngest being a 4-year-old girl who can travel with her 7-year-old sisters. In contrast to S., however, he interacts more frequently with children of the same sex and same age or older.

AGGRESSION BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

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We have touched on the relationship between latency boys and girls in school, implying that the bullying which occurs frequently there is less frequent in the community. Boys sometimes tease girls but less persistently and less often than in school. Since boys associate mostly with boys, and girls with girls, and since contact between sexes of the same age takes place mostly in group names, it is seldom unfriendly. Teasing among boys, and teasing among girls, is common, so that it would be hard to maintain that between the sexes it is more frequent. Once in a while, boys will keep girls out of their game, or girls will be annoyed when boys join them. Some of the kindergarten boys, as we have mentioned, like to be the disruptive agents in peaceful housekeeping games by assuming the role of a robber or wild animal. Two 5-year-old boys who generally enjoy teasing others select girls as their target now and then. Sometimes girls are just the objects of generalized aggression, as in the case presented below. M., a 5-year-old boy, first interacts aggressively with another 5-year-old boy, F., and then turns on a girl.

> F. has picked up a piece of pink paper and comes carrying it up to M. He holds it against his chest, stands in front of M. and smiles. "Give it to me," says M., and F. just stands smiling, mumbling, "Hmmm, maybe," but does not hand it over. M. rushes him and attacks him with his fist and takes it away from F. who stands laughing. M. rolls the paper around the end of his stick and walks down the lane toward a group of kindergarten-age girls.
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> Y. (4-year-old girl) comes walking up from behind M. M. turns around and raises his stick menacingly at her. Y. looks anxious, maneuvers quickly around him to join the girls, and laughs nervously. M. smiles smugly, walks back to boys.

When provoked, the girls will often fight back, and they score equally well, especially in verbal aggression. At other times they accept the teasing good humoredly, as seen in the incident of a 10-year-old girl, S., who is teased by a 7-year-old boy, A., described in the following protocol. 865 857 858 ●

> S. is guarding the can in a can-kicking game. A. (who has been playing a rubber band game with another boy nearby) looks up, smiles, goes running over to the can and kicks it with his foot, yelling, "Safe!" S., whose back is turned to him, jumps, turns around and sees him. "You're not playing this game," she laughs and A. laughs and goes back to his own game. [526]

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIBLINGS

As mentioned above, the caretaking responsibility and the tendency of younger siblings who are beyond the carrying stage to follow an older brother or sister keep siblings together a great deal during play. When an older brother has to mind a younger sister, he is usually not overly protective. He seldom defends his sister from teasing and sometimes is more aggressive to her than he would be to others if she interferes with his activities. There is, of course, a great deal of variation due to personality. A 5-year-old boy (one of the teasers described above) sometimes pushes his younger sister, and she runs home crying. An 11-year-old boy, on the other hand, when he takes care of his four younger sisters, or some of them, is usually quite protective and nurturant. 593 857 [865]

A record of the behavior of T. (7 years), his younger sister H. (4 years), and other boys illustrates a brother-sister interaction. T. and other boys have made a swing and T. is sitting on it while A. (5-year-old boy) and H. try to get turns:

> A. tries to get him off the swing. H., who expected that her turn would come next, whines "nisan (older brother)" and while A. tries to get T. off, she keeps on whining, "This should be enough." T. replies, "This is A.'s turn"; while A. is trying to get on the swing, H. starts crying and goes into the house. Apparently an adult is in the house. T. follows, voices are heard, but not understood. T. returns after a moment and helps F. (another boy) push A. on the swing. H. seems to have stopped crying. We heard no adult scolding T. or talking to H. H. returns, no longer crying. She stands behind T. whose body swings back and forth while pushing A. H. pushes T.'s swinging body to help him. A., F., and H. sing in rhythm, "one, two, three," etc. After song is finished, H. says, "Brother, it is my turn next." T. ignores her, but A. gets off the swing and H. sits on it. H. swings by herself. T. orders A. to help him push the door next to the swing open. A. complies. T.'s mother passes, does not say anything. After the door has been opened (and more room gained), T. and A. push H.

593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With
[865] H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

857 593 858 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward members of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 866 156 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member,
and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their activities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[528] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son'
according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield, and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facilities. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted ¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look forward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

● 858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation.
Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also owns a truck.

One of the most respected household heads in Nanahan was sold when 858 ●
a boy. His poor Shuri parents sold him to rich Nanahan relatives, even 432
though he was a first son. His relative, a woman who still lives there, had
him work her fields for his support. However, she allowed him to work off-season as a day laborer, and he was permitted to keep his earned money.
People commented: "He was and still is honest."

One of the consistent themes of Okinawan literature is the sale of children to Itoman. The practice continues today, perhaps in less intensive form. A grown man who now lives in Yamada was sold from Yamada to Itoman people when he was a boy. He returned to Yamada when the village was resettled after the war, considering that his time was up. He is one of the men who fish part-time, having learned something of fishing from the Itoman people.

Three boys at least were being held during our stay by an Itoman man. He and the boys move about quite a bit, but he has his home in Itoman. The boys, at least one of whom is from Ie Shima, call him "uncle". The boys are about junior high school age but are not in school. When a woman who knew about the situation was asked why this was not reported to the police, she expressed surprise at the idea. She did not know if the practice were illegal or not, and more or less defended the man---a relative by marriage---by saying that Itoman people had always done this. She added that the man treated the boys well, though she knows the stories about how badly the Itoman people treated the boys they bought in the past. One has run away several times but he always comes back.

One respondent, whose knowledge and intelligence command respect, says
that both boys and girls are still being bought regularly from the off-shore
islands. The boys are sold to fishermen, and the girls to brothel-keepers. [548]
He believes the treatment of the boys may be no better than it ever was but
commented that at least they are learning a trade that they can follow when
they are freed; the girls are more to be pitied.

It is evident that the child of a very poor family cannot yet regard the traditional disciplinary threat---"If you don't be good, I'll sell you to Itoman"---as an idle one.

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized. 863 178

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is carried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed. 854

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net. [513]

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1] 856 866

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy', "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking. 856

Childhood: Adult Attitudes Okinawans recognize clearly that children are not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Okinawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes 858 [171]

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[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe,
overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American
children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children
that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan
adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done
or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may
discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to
the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and
then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The
American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes,
the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and
yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining
when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which
they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre,
where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although
they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different
people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no
notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes
toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling
to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[184] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an
Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were
from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered
his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about
speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home
and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel
[152] that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual
expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is
inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it
well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive
when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost inherent
171 in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan,
adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing
adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably
used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such
a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of
verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some
extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking
to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words,
and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

858 171 198 followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

858 197 198 The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees [186] with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

867 Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

861 Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children [858] ●
discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible.
Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another
city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing
in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to
"take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls
are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication
of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly
in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman
once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old
girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono
pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible".
Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the
battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became
familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish
as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations
is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This
term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

751
An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 512
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily
to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet
around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in
the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the
main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his
teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for
Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family [264]
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come flying [351]
out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a
neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving
a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies
to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the
remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in
front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them
to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

751
The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a platform 514
over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343